2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

daughter's son of the first Kawinga, has been recognized as a subordinate Native Authority. Village headmen also develop in the same way from the relatives of the chief. Among the 205 village headmen who are of Invader stock, there are 62 who are

TABLE VII

PROPORTIONS OF RELATED AND UNRELATED HEADMEN AMONG THE INVADERS

Chief's Relatives						Non-Relatives	Total
Direct			Clan				
Mat.*	Pat.	Aff.	Mat.†	Pat.	Aff.		
17 8·3	35 17·1	10 4·9	37 18·0	22 10·7	12 5·9	72 35·1	205 100%
30·3%			34·6%			35·1%	

* Includes the six chiefs themselves.

† Those who have the same clan-name.

Mat. = Matrilineally related; Pat. = Patrilineally related; Aff. = Affinally related.

either chiefs, their direct matrilineal relatives or their direct patrilateral relatives. This represents 30·3 per cent of the total. Of these 35 or 17·1 per cent are patrilateral relatives.

The chief's sons occupied a very strong position in the early Yao chiefdoms. Most sons of the early chiefs were their children by slave-wives. Since there was no one on their mother's side from whom they could inherit rank, it follows that they could only expect to achieve status through their father, the chief. Yet they were not, as his younger brothers and his sisters' sons were, a danger to him, because they were not in the line of succession and had no reason to wish his death. On the contrary, the bonds that unite father and son in Yao society are strong but not formal. The chief's sons, the *akhwana*, therefore came to occupy some of the most trusted positions under him. They became his military leaders; they led his caravans to the coast and back; they were the messengers who represented him to foreign chiefdoms and to the Whites when they came. In these positions the chief could trust his sons, because he knew that they

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622 643 644 had no hostile axes to grind. Younger brothers and sisters' sons might have used the military forces against him, or they might have squandered the wealth of the caravans because they had a jural right to it. As the sons grew older they were given groups of slaves and slave-wives to look after, and so they became village headmen under the chief. Many of them came to have initiation rights and hold other positions of importance.

622 643 602 601 The chief was also connected to other Invader headmen through marriage. It is clear that affinal links become in time cognatic, but the marriage of the chief with a headman's sister fixes the relationship between that headman and the chief in perpetuity. The succeeding chief does not look upon the village headman who is his mother's brother's wife's brother as a father-in-law, as he would if he were a commoner, but instead calls him 'brother-in-law'. Also, all the successors of the village headman call all the succeeding chiefs by this term, so that the political structure of the area becomes phrased in a kinship idiom: the quasi-kinship of headman and chief in this context becomes suffused with political meaning. The number of village headmen who claim some affinal relationship to the chief is not great—only 10 of the total of 205 (i.e. 4·9 per cent).

TABLE VIII

PROPORTIONS OF RELATED AND UNRELATED HEADMEN AMONG THE NEWCOMERS

622 643 602

Chief's Relatives						Non-Relatives	Total
Direct			Clan				
Mat.	Pat.	Aff.	Mat.	Pat.	Aff.		
0	13	15	24	13	16	300	381
0	3·4	3·9	6·3	3·4	4·2	78·8	100%
7·3%			13·9%			78·8%	

Among the Aborigines and Newcomers, naturally, there are very few direct relatives. There are, of course, no matrilineal relatives. The patrilateral relatives amongst the Newcomers (3·4 per cent) are those of Kawinga who have moved into Chamba and Liwonde areas. There have been various mar-

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

councillors. Long ago they held a most important position within the chiefdom. They were the loyal headmen and intimates of the chief, who could therefore be entrusted with the government of outer areas. They were posted to various parts of the chiefdom; kept the chief advised of war and attacks; maintained the peace among the village headmen in their areas; and collected the ivory to which the chief was entitled and sent it to him. Nowadays, the *ndunas* find themselves in competition with other officials who have arisen from the White Administrative system. The chief also finds advisers and councillors in his court clerks and his court sergeants, but the *ndunas* still have much prestige and advise and assist the chief in his administration of the area. Earlier, I mentioned that a senior headman was allowed to have a mat to himself, and only his own friends and people of his rank could occupy it with him. The only people in the chiefdom who could share the chief's mat, were the *ndunas*, and they called him *anganga* (my friend). Because the *ndunas* were not related to the chief they were in the peculiar position of being able to settle quarrels between the chief and his family: they were the arbitrators in arguments between the chief and his 'younger brothers' (junior male matrilineal relatives), or the chief and his wives. By Yao custom, rank is inherited by a village headman's successor, so that the relationship between the chief and his *ndunas* is perpetuated through successive incumbents. In Kawinga's area, for example, the *ndunas* to-day have the same name and the same relationship and relative position with regard to the chief as the *ndunas* who invaded the country nearly 100 years ago. This traditional ranking of village headmen emerges as soon as the Government alters its policy. Recently, when the idea of group headmen was reintroduced, the chief nominated the *ndunas* to become group headmen—a position not unlike that they held before the White conquest.

There is considerable difference between the size of Administrative villages under those headmen who have the right to wear the scarlet headband and those who have not. Table XV shows this clearly. The mean number of tax-payers under the former headmen is 80, while under the latter it is only 38. Among the village headmen with the right to wear the scarlet headband 62·5 per cent had villages of more than 60 tax-payers, while among other headmen only 25·0 per cent of the villages were in

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

The Rôle of the Chief in Headman's Installation Ceremonies

The second significant aspect is the importance of the chief in the installation ceremony. In each ceremony the chief has to give his formal consent to the succession. Note that the chief is approached by one of the headman's relatives, so that at this level, in spite of Kawinga's statement,[1] the succession dispute is over and the heir is decided upon. The chief's formal consent, his formal fixing of the date of installation, his personal appearance or the appearance of his representative, and his giving of the gift, all serve to set his official seal on the installation and to recognize its political significance.

The chief recognizes the leader of the group, both in his actions and his words. He also sees in the headman his representative, as when Nyambi said, 'When you disobey the headman you disobey me,' or when Kawinga said, 'Nyenje, you are responsible to report to me any unusual thing which occurs in your village here.'

When a chief comes into a village it is the village headman who entertains him. I was told that if the headman or his representative were away, the chief would be given no hospitality at all, because the villagers only entertain him through their representative, the village headman. Though the chief himself may not frequently visit villages, his representatives are constantly coming and going on his errands. Where affairs of day-to-day administration of the chiefdom are concerned these representatives are usually the court messengers, who may be paid from Native Authority funds or from the chief's private funds. The chief's representative in his tribal capacity, however, is usually his *nduna*, but it may be practically any village headman whom the chief selects. For example, he may send his *nduna* or one of his satellites as his representative to a *mapeto*.[2] He sometimes sends his representative as a referee to divinations and to chicken poison-ordeals following accusations

[1] Kawinga had a say in Nyenje's succession because he was a clan-relative. I have evidence that some lobbying had been going on because the successor that Kawinga chose was not chosen by Kawinga's relatives.

[2] A meeting held shortly after a funeral to decide whether death has been caused by sorcery or is due to natural causes.